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# THE COMPLETE GRAMMAR OF ANARCHY

BY MEMBERS OF THE WAR  
CABINET AND THEIR FRIENDS

“The reckless rodomontade at Blenheim in the early summer, as developed and amplified in this Ulster campaign, furnishes for the future a complete grammar of anarchy,”—*Mr. Asquith at Ladybank, October 5, 1912.*

“The Attorney-General says that my doctrines and the course I am taking lead to anarchy. Does he not think I know that? Does he think that after coming to my time of life, and passing through the various offices and responsibilities I have accepted, I did this like a baby, without knowing the consequences.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Glasgow, October 1, 1912.*

“What answer are you going to make to the vast majority of the Irish people when they resist the considered determination of Parliament and appeal to the language of the right hon. gentleman to justify their action.”—*Mr. Asquith in House of Commons, July 31, 1913.*

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*Horgan, Sam 1918*

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED  
TO  
S I R   E D W A R D   C A R S O N  
K.C., M.P., P.C.  
PRESIDENT OF THE ULSTER PROVISIONAL  
GOVERNMENT  
EX-MEMBER OF THE WAR CABINET  
IN RECOGNITION  
OF HIS INESTIMABLE SERVICES  
TO  
THE BRITISH EMPIRE !



## FOREWORD

It is not often that political chickens come home to roost as quickly as those which were hatched in North-East Ulster during the years 1912-14. Rebellion was openly preached, men were drilled, arms were landed, the assistance of the Kaiser was invoked, the forces of the Crown were defied, and their commanders seduced from their allegiance. Nay more, the Protestant Church of Ulster, through the mouths of its leading dignitaries, solemnly blessed and consecrated these criminal performances. No one was prosecuted, no one was interned, the criminals are still at large posing as pillars of the law, and acting as guardians of the State. Nor was this conduct confined to Ulster. The platforms of England rang with the protestations of Mr. Bonar Law and his party, that if Ulster resisted the law she would not be alone. No wonder that German statesmen, ignorant of the cant, insincerity and humbug of English politics, believed that England was so divided and rent with domestic discord that the time had come to make a bold bid for the dominion of the world. No wonder that Ireland re-learnt the old lesson, that English politicians—one cannot call them statesmen—will yield to violence and threats when they will not even listen

to the voice of justice and right. It required fifty years of constant political agitation, ending with three General Elections and the upheaval of the British Constitution, to place upon the Statute Book a moderate Home Rule Act giving the Irish people limited powers over their domestic affairs, and the moment it was passed it was suspended indefinitely! It only required a fortnight to pass a Conscription Act for Ireland against the unanimous voice of her people, an Act imperilling the lives, the fortunes, and the future of the entire Irish race. Need one point the moral. Could contempt for the oft-quoted principles of "self-determination," and liberty for small nationalities, be more eloquently expressed. If Ireland required any justification for her determination to oppose this unjust law she would find it in the declarations and actions of Sir Edward Carson and his friends, which are here set out in chronological order. They were directed, not against an unjust and immoral law passed in defiance of the express will of the Irish people, but against a measure of elementary justice necessary not only to the free development of Ireland, but to the re-construction of the United Kingdom, and demanded by an overwhelming majority of the Irish race for several generations. I have not commented on them in any way for they are too perfect in themselves to need embellishment. Mr. Asquith called them "the complete grammar of anarchy." Nothing more need be said.

J. J. H.

## SOME OF THE DRAMATIS PERSONÆ AND THEIR REWARDS

SIR EDWARD CARSON (President of the Ulster Provisional Government)—Attorney-General for England, May 1915; First Lord of the Admiralty, December 1916; Member of the War Cabinet, July 1917.

MR. BONAR LAW (Leader of the Die-Hards)—Secretary for the Colonies, May 1915; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Leader of the House of Commons, and Member of the War Cabinet, December 1916.

SIR F. E. SMITH (Galloper to General Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the Ulster Army)—Solicitor-General for England, May 1915; Attorney-General, 1916.

SIR J. H. CAMPBELL (Legal Assessor to the Ulster Provisional Government)—Attorney-General for Ireland, April 1916; Lord Chief Justice for Ireland, December 1916; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, June 1918.

SIR JAMES CRAIG (Chief of Staff of Ulster Army)—Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, December 1916.

MR. JOHN GORDON, M.P.—Attorney-General for Ireland, May 1915; Judge of the High Court of Justice, July 1916.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE, M.P. (Member of Ulster Provisional Government)—Judge of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, 1918.

MR. WALTER LONG, M.P.—President of the Local Government Board, 1915; Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 1916; Irish Adviser to the War Cabinet, 1918.

# THE COMPLETE GRAMMAR OF ANARCHY

## NO SURRENDER

“Remember the glorious days of King William. Never shall we forget the imperishable memories of the Battle of the Boyne; no matter what the rest of the country shall say, we in Liverpool shall fight under the Protestant watchwords, ‘No surrender, no compromise.’”—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Liverpool, July 19, 1910.*

## SIR EDWARD ON MR. LLOYD GEORGE

“He would have welcomed a war of argument, but he was not a Cabinet Minister, paid £5,000 a year to spit out dirt by the yard. He had seen Mr. Lloyd George in a Privy Council uniform, and he nearly mistook him for a gentleman. Last year had been one of the most ignominious in political history. Mr. Asquith, after hesitating about the guarantees, was told by Mr. Redmond, ‘On the knee, you dog!’ and they were threatened with the entry of four hundred scabs and blacklegs into the Lords.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Liverpool, November 25, 1910.*

## THE ALL-POWERFUL MINORITY

“If the Liberals tried to force Home Rule on Ireland,

there was a large section of the community—a minority, no doubt, but large, powerful, determined—who would resist their efforts with all the power and all the force they could command. Instead of bringing peace to Ireland they would bring trouble and controversy, and that which was first cousin to, if it was not actual civil war.”—*Mr. Walter Long, M.P., at Whitechapel, December 6, 1910.*

## CONDITIONAL LOYALTY

“If we are deserted by Great Britain, I would rather be governed by Germany than by Patrick Ford and John Redmond and Company.”—*Right Hon. Thomas Andrews, P.C., Hon. Sec. Ulster Unionist Council, “Morning Post,” December 19, 1910.*

## HOCH DER KAISER!

“There is a spirit spreading abroad which I can testify to from my personal knowledge that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond, Patrick Ford, and the Molly Maguires.”—*Captain Craig, M.P., “Morning Post,” January 9, 1911.*

## THE LOYAL CRAIG

“If Home Rule was granted it would not matter a row of pins whether they were separated from Great Britain or whether they were not.”—*Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., at Derriaghy, October 17, 1911.*

## LORD LONDONDERRY AND CIVIL WAR

“He warned their lordships that if a Home Rule Parliament was established there would be lawlessness,

serious disorder, and bloodshed. If blood was shed it would be the fault of his Majesty's Government. Those were strong words to use, but he wanted to warn the Government of what would occur. They would ruin Ireland and bring about civil war. . . . The North of Ireland said they would not obey Mr. Redmond. They declared if the worst came to the worst they would fight."—*Late Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords, July 20, 1911.*

## THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ULSTER—FIRST STEPS.

Resolutions passed at Conference of Unionist Clubs and Orange Lodges in Belfast on September 25, 1911.

"That we, delegates of the Ulster Unionist Associations, the Unionist Clubs of Ireland, and the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, in united meeting assembled, recognizing that the public peace of this country is in great and imminent danger by reason of the threat to establish a Parliament in Dublin, and knowing that such a step will inevitably lead to disaster to the Empire and absolute ruin to Ireland, the degradation of our citizenship in the United Kingdom, and the destruction of our material prosperity and our civil and religious liberties, hereby call upon our leaders to take any steps they may consider necessary to resist the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, solemnly pledging ourselves that under no conditions shall we acknowledge any such government or obey its decrees, and we further assure our leaders that those whom we represent will stand by them loyally in any action they may take, and give their unwavering support in any danger they may be called upon to face."

"That inasmuch as His Majesty's Government has intimated its intention to pass a measure of Home

Rule for Ireland, and as we have again and again expressed our intention not to submit to Home Rule, the time has now come when we consider it our imperative duty to make arrangements for a Provisional Government for Ulster:—

“It is resolved that we hereby appoint a Commission whose duties shall be :

“1. To keep Sir Edward Carson in constant touch with the feeling of Unionist Ulster as represented by its various loyal organizations.

“2. And in the case of emergency, with his approval, to take immediate action.

“3. To take immediate steps in consultation with Sir Edward Carson to frame and submit a constitution for a Provisional Government for Ulster, having due regard to the interests of the loyalists in other parts of Ireland, the powers and duration of such Provisional Government to come into operation on the day of the passage of any Home Rule Bill, to remain in force until Ulster shall again resume unimpaired her citizenship in the United Kingdom, and her high position in the great British Empire.”

## THE MARCH TO CORK

“He believed with all his heart that, if necessary to-morrow, Ulster would march from Belfast to Cork, and take the consequences, even if not one of them ever returned.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, September 25, 1911.*

## SIR EDWARD DEFIES THE LAW

“Speaking here, under almost tragic circumstances, with the possibility of grave and official operations in Belfast and in Ulster within almost a few days, I say

here, that not only do I approve of what the Unionist Council have done, but I say that if they did anything else they would have been false to the position in which they were placed. If that is inciting to riot here I am.”  
—*Sir Edward Carson at Liverpool, January 22, 1912.*

## EVERY MEANS

“He for one would never hesitate, either in public or in private, to urge and persuade his loyalist fellow-countrymen to resort to every means, every means available to men of honour and courage, before they would consent to be deprived of that which was their heritage.—*Mr. J. Campbell, K.C., M.P., at Dublin, January 5, 1912.*

## “NO LENGTH TO WHICH ULSTER WAS NOT ENTITLED TO GO”

“Ulster, in refusing to submit to Nationalist domination under a trick, would be right in resisting, and he for one, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, went further and said there was no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate or unconditional, in carrying the quarrel if the quarrel was wickedly fixed upon them.”—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Liverpool, January 22, 1912.*

## FREE SPEECH IN BELFAST

“The Radical Press is talking a great deal at the present time about the right of free speech. (A Voice: ‘Long live Churchill.’) I do not know whether, if he gets to Belfast, he will live long.”—*Mr. A. L. Horner, K.C., M.P., at Hale, January 23, 1912.*

## REBELLION BETTER THAN HOME RULE

“If Home Rule were persisted in it would lead to civil war, and if he lived in Belfast he would seriously consider whether rebellion were not better than Home Rule.”—*Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., at Baldock, February 9, 1912.*

## “HEAVEN HELP THE GOVERNMENT”

“I have only one word more to say, and that is, that if this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through, then God help Ulster, but heaven help the Government that tries to enforce it.”—*Mr. Bonar Law at Larne, April 9, 1912.*

## PHYSICAL FORCE

“The present Government had treated them with fraud, and if necessary they would treat the Government with force.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, April 9, 1912.*

## D——N THE CONSEQUENCES

“What have we met for? To pronounce in the most solemn and deliberate way that we are determined to maintain our privileges as citizens of the United Kingdom. We are not out for a holiday-making. We are here to meet a revolution in the only way a revolution can be met—by realizing our responsibilities and not caring about the consequences—determined that we shall defeat it.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, April 9, 1912.*

## FULL SUPPORT OF ALL THE UNIONIST MEMBERS

“Speaking with a due sense of responsibility and with the knowledge that what I say is shared by my Unionist colleagues, in the resolution and unshakeable determination of Ulster not to submit, they will have the full support not only of the Unionists of Ireland, but of the whole of the Unionist members of the House of Commons, in all risks, at all hazards, and in every extremity.”—*Mr. F. E. Smith' K.C., M.P., at Nottingham, April 18, 1912.*

## THE GUN-RUNNER'S ALLEGIANCE

“If they were put out of the Union . . . he would infinitely prefer to change his allegiance right over to the Emperor of Germany or anyone else who had got a proper and stable government.”—*Major F. Crawford (the Larne gun-runner), at Bangor, April 29, 1912.*

## LIVERPOOL TO THE RESCUE

“He had three brothers, who each had the honour of being a member of that House. He was quite sure if Ulster had Home Rule forced upon her and resisted, his three brothers and himself would all go to the assistance of Ulster. He would also go down to Liverpool and ask for volunteers, and the men of Liverpool would go, not in hundreds, but in thousands to the assistance of their brethren in Ulster.”—*Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., in the House of Commons, May 1, 1912.*

## BLOOD AND THUNDER

“He begged of them to put their trust in God, and be ready to shed their blood and risk their lives on

behalf of the great privileges they now enjoyed.”—  
*Reverend S. R. Anderson at Irvinestown, May 10, 1912.*

## A HINT TO THE ARMY

“Assuming, for the sake of argument, what he did not believe, that the people of this country would allow the coercion of their kith and kin—what would be the effect upon the army? Many officers would resign; no army could stand such a strain upon them.”—  
*Sir Edward Carson at the Hotel Cecil, London, May 10, 1912.*

## “THE MAKING OF TWO BATTALIONS”

“He was not ashamed or afraid to say that he had taken a big part in the organizing of this drilling movement that was going on in many parts of the country. They had got to go on until they saw that infernal Home Rule Bill put under their feet. When that was done then would be the time to fall out of the ranks; but not till then. There was in that magnificent body of men he had seen the making of two battalions.”—  
*Colonel Wallace at Lisburn, May 14, 1912.*

## A STEP FORWARD

“I ask my Ulster friends when they go back to Belfast to tell their friends there, in no uncertain voice, that the Government last night declared war against Ulster, and have announced that the only solution of this question is to drive them out of a community in which they are satisfied into a community which they loathe, hate and detest. We will accept the declaration of war. We are not altogether unprepared. I think it is time that we should take a step forward in our

campaign, and I will recommend that to be done, and I believe it will be done.”—*Sir Edward Carson at the Albert Hall, June 14, 1912.*

## LYNCH THE GOVERNMENT

“They know that if Ulster is in earnest, that if Ulster does resist by force, there are stronger influences than Parliament majorities. They know that in that case no Government would dare to use their troops to drive them out. They know, as a matter of fact, that the Government, which gave the order to employ troops for that purpose, would run a great risk of being lynched in London.”—*Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, June 18, 1912.*

## REBEL SMITH

“No one is more conscious than I am that I could contribute very little to the military efficiency of those who were resisting the Regular Forces or the still more formidable invasion from the South. But while I make that admission frankly, I say here what I should not have said if I had not been invited by the hon. gentleman to express my view on this point; neither I nor the vast majority of my hon. friends would dream of recommending any course which we were not prepared, according to the measure of our capacity, to share.” (An Hon. Member, “Good old rebel.”)—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., in the House of Commons, June 18, 1912.*

## BREAK EVERY LAW

“Within the past few days the most extraordinary distinction had been made in relation to prisoners convicted by the courts. One class of persons were sent

to gaol for inciting to violence, and another class were forgiven when they had been guilty of exactly the same kind of incitement. That was due to the existence of a craven Government which was beneath contempt. It had been said that he ought to be sent to gaol. But after what happened the other day in the House of Commons, in the pronouncement of policy of the Government in relation to Ulster, he intended, when he went over there, to break every law that was possible. Let the Government take their own course. He was not a bit afraid of them, for a more wretched, miserable, time-serving, opportunist lot never before sat in Parliament.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Criterion Restaurant, London, June 24, 1912.*

### MR. BONAR LAW GIVES A LEAD

“If the attempt be made, under present conditions, I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go which I shall not be ready to support, and in which they will not be supported by the overwhelming majority of the British people.”—*Mr. Bonar Law at Blenheim, July 27, 1912.*

### SIR EDWARD CHALLENGES THE GOVERNMENT

“We will shortly challenge the Government to interfere with us if they dare, and we will with equanimity await the result. We will do this regardless of all consequences, of all personal loss, of all inconvenience. They may tell us if they like that that is treason. It is not for men who have such stakes as we have at issue to trouble about the cost. We are prepared to take the consequences, and in the struggle we will not be alone, because we will have all the best in England with us.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Blenheim, July 27, 1912.*

## APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN OF ENGLAND

"I can only tell Sir Edward Carson this, and I speak with all sense of responsibility, should it happen that Ulster is threatened with a violent attempt to incorporate her in an Irish Parliament with no appeal to the English electors, I say to Sir Edward Carson, appeal to the young men of England."—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Blenheim, July 27, 1912.*

## THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS

"We regard the Government as a revolutionary committee which has seized by fraud upon despotic power. In our opposition to them we shall not be guided by the consideration, we shall not be restrained by the bonds which would influence us in an ordinary political struggle. We shall use *any means*—whatever means seem to us likely *to be the most effective*. This is all we shall think about. We shall use any means to deprive them of the power which they have usurped, and to compel them to face the people they have deceived."—*Mr. Bonar Law at Blenheim, July 27, 1912.*

## THE QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED NOW

"The right hon. gentleman tells us that if this Parliament should see fit, in the exercise of what he admits to be well within its legal competence, to pass a Home Rule Bill into law in the course of the next two years, in his opinion, his deliberate opinion, it would be the right of the minority of the people in Ireland to resist the application of that measure by force. (Mr. Bonar Law indicated assent.) Has the right hon. gentleman ever considered what might happen if, in the whirlgig of political fortunes he and his friends should become responsible for the government of the

country, and has he considered what might be the attitude of the people of Ireland in view of the advice he has given—the attitude, not of the minority, but of a very large and overwhelming majority, if a subsequent Parliament should refuse to grant them their constitutional demand? . . . . I say to the right hon. gentleman, and to his friends who are associating themselves with him, that if the contingency, which I have described, should arise—and, mind you, it would arise if you succeed in defeating this Bill—what answer are you going to make to the vast majority of the Irish people when they resist the considered determination of Parliament, and appeal to the language of the right hon. gentleman to justify their action.”—*Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, July 31, 1912.*

## ULSTER LOYALTY

“He did not think the day would ever come when Mr. Asquith would return to Ireland, accompanied by the King, to open an Irish Parliament. If that day did come to pass he would feel himself justified in not regarding him as King any longer.”—*Reverend Mr. Walmsley at Castle Irvine, August 15, 1912.*

## KING EDWARD CARSON

“I myself am constrained to suggest that it might be well to omit from the receptions of their leader, Sir Edward Carson, some of the ceremonial which is usually reserved for the Sovereign.”—“*Daily Mail*” *Special Correspondent in Ulster, September 1912.*

## A THREAT TO THE COVENANTERS

“Don’t imagine we are out for fun. We are almost driven to despair by the Government. They wage war

upon us. Well, they will take the consequences just as well as we will. Let no man make light of the signing of the Covenant. . . . Any man who having made this pledge goes back on it, or fails at the critical moment, let him beware! He is a betrayer of his brother!—*Sir Edward Carson at Derry, September 20, 1912.*

## TWOPENNY TREASON

“In the event of this proposed Parliament being thrust upon us, we solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves not to recognize its authority. . . . I do not care twopence whether it is treason or not.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Coleraine, September 21, 1912.*

## GALLOPER SMITH INVOKES THE ALMIGHTY

“I am satisfied of the reality of and the gravity of your determination, and I, on behalf of nine out of ten members in Liverpool alone, counting Bootle, and on behalf of the views of hundreds of thousands of our friends in the English constituencies, I clasp your hand to-night and I say, *under God* we are with you in the fight that lies in front of you.”—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Londonderry, September 20, 1912*

## DISRUPT THE EMPIRE

“The Unionists of England were going to help Unionists over here, not only by making speeches. Peaceable methods would be tried first, but if the last resort was forced on them by the Radical Government, the latter would find that they had not only Orangemen against them, but that every white man in the British Empire would be giving support, either moral or active, to one of the most loyal populations that ever fought under the Union Jack.”—*Lord Willoughby de Broke at Dromore, September 24, 1912.*

## "A LA LANTERNE!"

"I place on record my view that this Government, even if it had the wickedness—which I have difficulty in believing—is wholly lacking in the nerve to give an order to the British army to use coercion in Ulster. Supposing the Government gave such an order, the consequences can only be described in the words of Mr. Bonar Law, when he said, 'If they did so it would not be a matter of argument, but the population of London would lynch you on the lamp-posts.'"—*Mr. F. E. Smith K.C., M.P., at Portadown, September 25, 1912.*

## THE ULSTER COVENANT

"Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of his gracious Majesty, King George the Fifth, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant in this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland; and in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names, and further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant."—*Ulster Day, September 28, 1912.*

## THE MODERATOR APPLIES "THE DIVINE MEASURING LINE"

"They were standing that day in the face of a great religious and political issue which might involve the destruction of their liberties, and even the peace of their country. They knew there were many people, and even some preachers of the Gospel, who thought it a degradation of the Christian pulpit to deal with such questions, even on such a special occasion as Ulster Day. They refused to be influenced by the opinion or silenced by the criticisms of such men. *They claimed the right to lay the divine measuring line on every attempted form of legislation bearing on the character, the freedom, and the well-being of the people.* It would be an evil day for this country, when the politics of it were of such a quality that religious people could not touch them. They were now called upon to defend more than their faith. They told their fellow-countrymen that so long as they persisted in pressing that preposterous policy they would meet them with the old battle-cry of the Maiden City. It was a policy to which they could never submit, and they meant to do everything that Christian men could to make it impossible.—*Reverend Dr. McKean, ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, preaching at a special service in the Ulster Hall, on September 28, 1912, in presence of Sir Edward Carson and the members of the Ulster Provisional Government.*

## MEN MUST DEFEND THEIR ALTARS AND THEIR HEARTHS

"When we see the men of Ulster filled with that noble spirit of self-sacrifice in behalf of liberty which fired their ancestors, displaying more than any other men to-day their patriotic devotion which has made

Britain what she is, we cannot hold aloof. The Covenant is a pledge to stand by one another in our resolve to save our country at all costs. It means that we are ready to make any sacrifice to avert the greatest of calamities. It rests upon the principle that when life and liberty are threatened, men are bound to risk all. In essence, it simply states what is true at all places and times—that men, true men, must be prepared to hold together in defence of their altars and their hearths, and to face all dangers.”—*The Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor at service in Belfast Cathedral, September 28, 1912.*

## THE CHRISTIAN TEMPER

“No man can really suppose that the Christian religion forbade any violence under any conceivable circumstances whatever. There were causes which no Christian was at liberty to fail to defend, even to the uttermost, and there was a righteous indignation—righteous indignation at wrong, and injustice, and encroachment upon liberty. To be tame, to be submissive always, when great things were at stake—that was not the Christian temper.”—*Protestant Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, Dr. Chadwick, at Glendermot Parish Church, after a parade of Ulster Volunteers, September 1912.*

## THE ROAD TO ANARCHY

“The Attorney-General has been reading me a lecture upon what is a serious matter, because I myself once or twice had the honour of being a law-officer of the Crown. He says that my doctrines and the course I am taking lead to anarchy. Does he not think I know that? Does he think that after coming to my time of

life, and passing through the various offices and responsibilities I have accepted, I did this like a baby without knowing the consequences.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Glasgow, October 1, 1912.*

## THE GOSPEL OF ANARCHY

“The reckless rodomontade at Blenheim in the early summer as developed and amplified in this Ulster campaign, furnishes for the future a complete Grammar of Anarchy. The possession of a conscience and a repugnance to obey inconvenient or objectionable laws are not the monopoly of the Protestants of the north-east of Ireland. This new dogma, countersigned as it now is, by all the leading men of the Tory party, will be invoked, and rightly invoked, cited, and rightly cited, called in aid, and rightly called in aid, whenever the spirit of lawlessness, fed and fostered by a sense whether of real or imaginary injustice, takes body and shape, and claims to stop the ordered machinery of a self-governing society. . . . A more deadly blow—I say it with the utmost deliberation and with the fullest conviction—a more deadly blow has never been dealt in our time by any body of responsible politicians at the very foundations on which democratic government rests.”—*Mr. Asquith at Ladybank, October 5, 1912.*

## “ULSTER WILL NOT STAND ALONE”

“If the Government carry the Home Rule Bill through to the bitter end they will approach a General Election with Ulster undoubtedly in arms, and if that arises, under the circumstances I have indicated, I tell you that Ulster will not stand alone.”—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Lincoln, October 11, 1912.*

## “I AM GOING TO BE IN IT”

“I can assure you from my own personal knowledge that it is not a question at which to laugh at all. Those men in the North of Ireland are absolutely in earnest. I can assure you that when the time comes these men will be as good as their word. Personally they have all my sympathies, and I tell you—and I say this very solemnly—that when the times comes if there is any fighting to be done—I am going to be in it.”—*Colonel T. E. Hickman, M.P., in South Wolverhampton, October 25, 1912.*

## SIR EDWARD TELLS THE TRUTH

“The hon. and learned member for Waterford (Mr. Redmond), in his impassioned way, appeals to us and says: ‘Do you think we are going to pass legislation as against Protestants? Do you think that we are going to pass legislation that will be persecuting the Protestants’? Has anybody ever said that? I certainly never said that. I give my Irish fellow-countrymen credit who would be inclined, in any wise, or from any motives, to interfere with their fellow-countrymen on account of religion, that it would not be by legislation.”—*Sir Edward Carson in the House of Commons, October 29, 1912.*

## THE MAJORITY MINORITY

“It is not enough in a matter of this kind to count heads. There may be a majority of the Irish people in favour of Home Rule, though even that is very doubtful. The real opinion of the Irish people is extremely difficult to get at upon such a question. But granting such a majority, there is still the fact that the minority includes all the classes upon which any

Government can rely to provide the requisites for a successful State. Not even Mr. Redmond would care to undertake the Government of Ireland without being able to draw upon the resources of Ulster, and the prosperity won by the energy and capacity of Ulstermen. Such a minority is for political purposes, though not for Parliamentary purposes, a majority.”—*The Times*, October 30, 1912.

## THE MORAL RIGHT TO RESIST

“The men of Ulster have a moral right to resist, and the killing of men who so resist is not an act of oppression—it is an act of murder.”—*Mr. Duke, K.C., M.P., at Exeter, October 1912.*

## PASSIVE SYMPATHY AND ACTIVE HELP

“If these Ulster people will even probably resist—and I am bound to say if they do resist I think they will be right—but if they do resist, if that is the state of the facts, it is not a question that you have to consider as to whether they are right or wrong—though, as I said a moment ago, I myself think they are right—but you will have chaos and confusion in Ireland, and not merely in Ireland, but I believe we will have at our backs, in relation to that contest, the whole body of Unionist opinion in this country, and a great many who would be willing to give us, not merely a passive sympathy, but active help.”—*Sir Edward Carson in the House of Commons, January 1, 1913.*

## “I SHALL ASSIST THEM IN RESISTING IT”

“If you attempt to enforce this Bill, and the people of Ulster believe, and have a right to believe, that you

are doing it against the will of the people of this country, then I shall assist them in resisting it.”—*Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, January 1, 1913.*

## WHAT “FOREIGN COUNTRY”?

“It is a fact which I do not think anyone who knows anything about Ireland will deny, that these people in the North-East of Ireland, from old prejudices perhaps more than from anything else, from the whole of their past history, would prefer, I believe, to accept *the government of a foreign country* rather than submit to be governed by hon. gentlemen below the gangway.”—*Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, January 1, 1913.*

## SMASH THE EMPIRE

“If Home Rule is passed I would not care whether the British Empire went to smash or not.”—*Reverend Chancellor Hobson at Kilmorarity, Portadown, Easter Monday 1913.*

## ULSTER RIVALS THE KAISER

“The Covenant was a mystical affirmation. . . . Ulster seemed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Deity.”—*The Times, May 3, 1913.*

## “WHAT ARE WE DRILLING FOR?”

“I am sometimes asked—What are your people in Ulster drilling for? Well, I will tell them through the press, so that it may reach the ears of those ignorant people who think we are a lot of babies playing a kind of game for some political party. We do not care about political parties, excepting in so far as they support

the Union. That is our political part. We sink our Radicalism, our Socialism, we sink anything. We will not have Home Rule. Why are we drilling? I want to state this explicitly. We have not sought a quarrel with anybody, we have not asked for anything, we have made no selfish demand. All we ask is to be left alone. If, therefore, we are driven to a policy of resistance, God knows we are not asking for it, those who drive us to it must take upon themselves the responsibility.”  
—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, May 16, 1913.*

## “ENGLAND, I WILL LAUGH AT YOUR CALAMITY”

“As regards the future, what if a day should come when Ireland would be clamouring for independence complete and thorough from Great Britain? . . . What side would they take then? (A voice: ‘Germany.’) He bound no man to his opinions. They owed to England allegiance, loyalty, and gratitude; but if England cast them off, then he reserved the right, as a betrayed man, to say, ‘I shall act as I have a right to act. I shall sing no longer “God save the King”’. . . . He said there solemnly that the day England cast him off and despised his loyalty and allegiance, that day he would say: ‘England, I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.’”—*Mr. James Chambers, K.C., M.P., at South Belfast, May 23, 1913.*

## THE SEDUCTION OF THE ARMY

“It must be evident to everyone in Ireland, as it had become evident to everyone in England, that the present Bill was not going to be forced through under the Parliament Act without bringing about the risk, which

he thought amounted to a certainty, of civil war. The responsibility of anyone who provoked civil war was immense. Perhaps no one could strike a more tremendous blow against the very foundations of society than to compel the military forces of the Crown into such a position that there was grave doubt as to whether the officers and men would obey the orders given to them in the event of civil war taking place. It was his conviction and belief that if the forces of the Crown were so employed, there were many officers and many men who would decline to lift a hand against those who they believed were fighting a righteous cause.”—*Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, K.C., M.P., at Cork, May 31, 1913.*

## “THE WHOLE FORCE OF THE UNIONIST PARTY”

“The case of Ulster never was stronger than it is to-day. Not only is it a strong case, because of the brotherhood and fellowship which joins each and all of us there together, but strong because even in the threat of armed resistance, if it should ever be necessary—which God forbid—we have now the open declaration of our leaders, of the leader of the Opposition, of the ex-leader of the Opposition, that we have behind us in that armed resistance, under present and existing circumstances, the whole force of the whole Conservative and Unionist party.”—*Sir Edward Carson in the House of Commons, June 10, 1913.*

## CHARLES BERESFORD TO THE FRONT!

“I say, and I honestly think, that it is deplorable that a man who has worked the whole of his life in the British service, who has been loyal to the Union Jack,

should have to stand up in the House of Commons and say that he is prepared, knowing his responsibility, to go and be one of the first to be shot down if troops are sent to Ireland. That is not swagger. That is what I intend to do if you send troops to Ireland.”—*Lord Charles Beresford in the House of Commons, June 10, 1913.*

## SIR EDWARD'S OATH IN JEOPARDY

“We are determined, under no circumstances, under no conditions, regardless of consequences and regardless of sufferings, ever for one moment to submit to a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin. We have signed our Covenant, we will stick to the letter and the spirit of it. . . . If I break my oath as a Privy Councillor, well, I have something more I value—highly as I value it—than being a Privy Councillor; I value my honour and I value my conscience.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Glasgow, June 12, 1913.*

## LET THE KING AND EMPIRE PERISH!

“Can King George sign the Home Rule Bill? Let him do so and his Empire shall perish as true as God rules Heaven. . . . Therefore, let King George sign the Home Rule Bill, he is no longer my King.”—*An open letter to Mr. Asquith in “Coleraine Constitution,” July 1913.*

## FAITHFUL TO THE DEATH

“You may call these men bigoted; you may call them fanatics, sullen, if you will, but they have counted the cost, they have made up their minds, and they will be faithful to the death. I warn you that you are on the very brink of a volcano. You have yet time to

retrace your steps, and in all humility and in all solemnity and sincerity, I pray that God may give you wisdom and courage to do so.”—*Mr. J. H. Campbell, K.C., M.P., in the House of Commons, July 7, 1913.*

## REFUSE TO PAY TAXES

“The loyalists of Ulster intended, if the Home Rule Bill was put upon the Statute Book, to take over the Government of the Province for themselves, and they would spend the autumn in perfecting all the machinery for that purpose. When they had their Provisional Government they would then call upon those who paid direct taxes to refuse to pay them to any Government which was going to hand them over to a Home Rule Parliament. He hoped there would be a general refusal throughout the Province of Ulster to pay any taxes under such circumstances. If the Government did not intend to use force let them try to collect the taxes without force. . . . Supposing they tried to enforce the taxes, which would not be an easy job all over Ulster, he told them this, and he said it solemnly, the people must make it impossible at all costs and at all hazards.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Craigavon, July 12, 1913.*

## NO COMPROMISE

“Even if they were so minded, which they were not, they had no right to barter away one inch of the freedom and liberty which they had inherited, and they would be traitors to those who came after them if they were not to maintain their birthright to the end. Therefore he put compromise out of the question.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Ballymena, July 18, 1913.*

## “DER TAG ”

“I like to get near the enemy. We are coming near to them in the near future, and I like to see that men are preparing for what I call the great day.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, August 3, 1913.*

## THIRTY THOUSAND VOLUNTEERS

“A near relative of his was in command of 30,000 volunteers pledged to fight against Home Rule in Armagh.”—*Major Ricardo at Stonehouse, Glos., August 11, 1913.*

## ELEVEN MONTHS BEFORE THE WAR!!!

“Sir Edward Carson had the honour of receiving an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser last week at Homburg.”—“*Belfast Evening Telegraph*,” *Aug. 27, 1913.*

## MINISTERS MAY BE MURDERED!!!

“If there is any blood spilled in Ireland through the Government trying to force Home Rule upon Ulster, the people of this country will be so enraged that they will require some blood of the members of the Cabinet to make up for the loss of the blood in Ireland. If an Irishman is killed he could hardly be spared. But if it was a couple of Cabinet Ministers we should say, ‘Good riddance.’”—*Lord Alington at Parkstone, September 14, 1913.*

## THE GOVERNMENT POWERLESS

“Governments, if you can call them Governments, may put you down by force; but there is one thing no Government on earth can do, and that is break the

spirit of brave Ulstermen.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Banbridge, September 18, 1913.*

## PLEDGES AND PROMISES FROM THE “GREATEST” GENERALS

“They had pledges and promises from some of the greatest generals in the army that, when the time comes, and if it is necessary, they will come over to help us to keep the old flag flying, and to defy those who would dare invade our liberties.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Antrim, September 20, 1913.*

## “TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL!”

“He had always refused to believe that the occasion would ever arise in which this Government, corrupt and guilty as it was, would dare to employ the British Army to march on Ulster, but if that moment ever came, he said, on behalf of the Unionist Party in Great Britain, that from that moment they held themselves absolved from all allegiance to the Government, and would say to their followers in England: ‘To your tents, O Israel!’ and would stand side by side with loyal Ulster refusing to recognize any law, and prepared with them to risk the collapse of the whole body politic to prevent this monstrous crime.”—*Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., at Ballyclare, September 20, 1913.*

## A CONQUERED COMMUNITY

“We may—perhaps we will—be coerced in the long run into submission. (‘Never.’) I say we may, because, of course, they have got the army and navy . . . but if we are we will be governed as a conquered community and nothing else.”—*Sir Edward Carson at meeting of Ulster Unionist Council, Belfast, September 24, 1913.*

## THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

The Unionist Council met on September 24, 1913, and decreed itself the Central Authority of the Provisional Government and its Standing Committee, the Executive Committee of the Provisional Government. Sir Edward Carson was appointed the head of the Central Authority, or President of the Provisional Government, with a number of departmental committees under him.

## THE KAISER'S OFFER OF AID!!!— SHOCKING!

“It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful continental monarch who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England of any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his dominion, believing, as he does, that if our king breaks his coronation oath by signing the Home Rule Bill he will, by so doing, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland. And should our king sign the Home Rule Bill, the Protestants of Ireland will welcome this continental deliverer as their forefathers, under similar circumstances, did once before.”—*The Irish Churchman*, November 14, 1913.

## MR. LAW'S PLEDGE

“I have said on behalf of the party—and only a week ago it was repeated in language as plain as my own by Lord Landsdowne and the party has endorsed it—we have said that if they first attempt to coerce Ulster before they have received the sanction of the electors, Ulster will do well to resist them, and we will support

her in her resistance to the end.”—*Mr. Bonar Law at Dublin, November 28, 1913.*

## WHAT HAPPENED TO KING JAMES?

“There is another point to which I would specially refer. In order to carry out his despotic intention, King James had the largest paid army which had ever been seen in England. What happened? There was a revolution and the king disappeared. Why? Because his own army refused to fight for him.”—*Mr. Bonar Law at Dublin, November 28, 1913.*

## THE PURCHASER’S GUARANTEE !!

“You may be quite certain that those men are not going to fight with dummy muskets. They are going to use modern rifles and ammunition, and they are being taught to shoot. I know, because I buy the rifles myself. *I won’t tell you where I get them from, but you can take it from me that they are the best, and if the men will only hold them straight, there won’t be many Nationalists to stand up against them.*”—*Colonel T. E. Hickman, M.P., at Wolverhampton, November 24, 1913.*

## IT WAS NOT TREASON IN 1913 !!!

“No Unionist will perform true service to his country who allows himself to be made directly or indirectly an assistant in the infliction of civil war upon a loyal population. The territorial army must not be allowed to shelter the transmission of regular troops for the attack upon Ulster, which Mr. Asquith distinctly foreshadows. The withdrawal of every Unionist from the Territorials would to that extent weaken the arm of organized and official crime, and

is a duty that must become more self-evident as every hour of the crisis develops.”—*Pall Mall Gazette*, November 28, 1913.

## REINFORCEMENTS PROMISED

“We are enlisting, and enrolling, and arming a considerable force of volunteers, who are going to proceed to Ulster to reinforce the ranks of Captain Craig and his brave men when the proper time comes.”—*Lord Willoughby de Broke at Norwich*, November 13, 1913.

## SNIPING OF ASQUITH RECOMMENDED

“If Mr. Asquith did employ the British army, he would break the back of the army, and if by any chance he should bring bloodshed in Ulster by means of Imperial troops, then, to his mind, any man would be justified in shooting Mr. Asquith in the streets of London.”—*Mr. Pretymann Newman, M.P. at Potter's Bar*, December 5, 1913.

## THE KAISER AFTERWARDS BORROWED THESE PHRASES

“The people of Ulster had behind them the Unionist party. Behind them was the Lord God of Battles. In His name and their name he said to the Prime Minister, ‘Let your armies and batteries fire. Fire if you dare! Fire and be damned!’”—*Mr. Foynton Hicks, M.P., at Warrington*, December 6, 1913.

## CABINET MINISTERS ON LAMP-POSTS

“When the first shot of civil war was fired in Ulster, as sure as they stood there, one of the Cabinet Ministers

would be hanged on a lamp-post in Downing Street.”  
—*Mr. A. M. Samuel at Old Trafford, January 15, 1914.*

## ANARCHY

“The first shot fired, the first act of coercion perpetrated in Ulster, annihilates constitutional government in the United Kingdom, and sets free every citizen to uphold his convictions with what force he may.”—*Pall Mall Gazette, January 16, 1914.*

## THE UNIONIST ARMY

“They were now asked to utilize the armed forces of the Crown to carry out the decrees of the dominant political caucus. . . . In the name of justice to the army he protested emphatically against the army being so employed. They ought to deal with the Army Annual Act in such a way that it could not possibly be made available for the purposes of the Government. If nobody else would do it, he should consider himself whether it was not possible so to amend the Act as to frustrate the attempt to send the army to coerce Ulster.”—*Lord Willoughby de Broke in the House of Lords, February 10, 1914.*

## THE PATH TO THE WOOLSACK

“Civil war was the path of danger, but it was also the path of duty; and he was convinced that no other alternative was left to the loyalists of Ulster.”—*Sir James Campbell, M.P., at Swansea, March 13, 1914.*

## RAIDS FOR ARMS EXPECTED

“I am commanded by the Army Council to inform

you that in consequence of reports which have been received by His Majesty's Government that attempts may be made in various parts of Ireland by evil-disposed persons to obtain possession of arms, ammunition, and other Government stores, it is considered advisable that you should at once take special precautions for safeguarding depots and other places where arms or stores are kept, as you may think advisable. It appears from the information received that Armagh, Omagh, Carrickfergus, and Enniskillen are insufficiently guarded, being specially liable to attack. You will, therefore, please to take the necessary steps, and report to this office."—*Letter from the War Office to General Sir A. Paget, the General Officer Commanding in Chief for Ireland, dated March 14, 1914.*

## THE ARMY TAKES THE CUE

1. "Officer commanding 5th Lancers states that all officers, except two and one doubtful, are resigning their commissions to-day. I much fear same conditions in the 16th Lancers. Fear men will refuse to move."

2. "Regret to report Brigadier-General Gough and fifty-seven officers 3rd Cavalry Brigade prefer to accept dismissal if ordered North."—*Wires from General Sir A. Paget, Commanding in Ireland to War Office, dated March 20, 1914.*

## GUARANTEES FOR GOUGH

"I got a signed guarantee that in no circumstances shall we be used to force Home Rule on the Ulster people. If it came to civil war I would fight for Ulster rather than against her."—*Brigadier-General Gough, interview reported in "Daily Telegraph," March 25, 1914.*

## CONDITIONAL DISCIPLINE

“The House knows that we on this side have, from the very first, held the view that to coerce Ulster is an operation which no Government, under existing conditions, has a right to ask the army to undertake. And, in our view, of course, it is not necessary to say it, any officer who refuses is only fulfilling his duty. . . . The question has been raised in an acute form, and in my belief nothing can save the army now except a clear declaration on the part of the Government that officers will not be compelled—(Hon. Members: ‘And men!’)—and men will not be compelled—to engage in civil war against their will.”—*Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, March 23, 1914.*

## THE ARMY KILLS HOME RULE

“The Army has killed the Home Rule Bill, and the sooner the Government recognizes the fact the better for the country.”—“*Morning Post*,” March 26, 1914.

## THE IMPOSSIBLE ARRIVED AT

“There is not anybody on that side of the House who has not admitted that the impossible has been arrived at, and that you will never be able to use the full forces of the Crown to enforce the Bill upon Ireland.”—*Mr. Walter Long, M.P., in the House of Commons, March 31, 1914.*

## THE ARMY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

“I utterly deny that the army is the instrument of the Government. The army is the servant of the nation,

and you have no right to use the army as the instrument of a mere party body like the Government.—*Lord Robert Cecil in the House of Commons, April 1, 1914.*

## WHAT ABOUT CONSCRIPTION?

“They had been within an ace of the beginning of civil war, and though for the moment the danger was removed, who could say that it was yet averted, or that they were safe as long as these men remained in office without an appeal to the people, who plotted these things, *who contemplated the setting of Ireland in a blaze, and who hoped, out of the bloodshed and confusion that resulted, to cement their political power.*”—*Mr. Austen Chamberlain in Hyde Park, April 4, 1914.*

## THE STRUGGLE ON THE NORTHERN FRONT

“Had the operations started by the constabulary seizing the Old Town Hall, the Unionist headquarters, it is certain that many thousands of Volunteers engaged in work at the Queen’s Island shipyards, half-a-mile away, would have left work, and, reinforced by other men, some in the Volunteer force and others who are not, would have attempted to regain possession of the building. The Central Office of the Belfast Police is in the same block of buildings, and as a high percentage of Belfast’s male population carry revolvers, it is doubtful whether the police could have held either the Old Town Hall or their office. Long before the troops could have arrived the streets would have been running in blood, and by the time General Macready could have reached the city from Hollywood, to take over the duties of military Governor under martial law, a terrible situation would have arisen.”—*Sir Edward Carson interview in the “Daily Telegraph,” April 20, 1914.*

## GERMAN RIFLES LANDED AT LARNE

April 24, 1914. Under cover of a test mobilization of the Ulster Volunteers, a huge consignment of 40,000 German Mauser rifles was landed at Larne, County Antrim, and at Bangor and Donaghadee, County Down.

## POLICE AND COASTGUARDS SURROUNDED AND DEFIED

"The whole operation was carried out with the greatest efficiency in detail. The towns and harbours at which the arms and ammunition were to be landed were cut off from all communications with the outside world for a space of from four to six hours. The local police, in some, if not all, of these places were surrounded by a superior force, and with the coastguards and Customs officials, prevented from taking any action. All roads leading to the respective disembarking centres were picketed by strong guards of Volunteers, who allowed no one to pass without a permit, and thus drew a protecting chain around each centre. The telephone and telegraph wires were temporarily put out of working order. In short, strict military discipline was imposed for a considerable time, and in certain prescribed areas no movement of any kind, nor any communication with outside sources was allowed." —"*The Times*," April 27, 1914.

## "GOUGH"—THE PASSWORD

"An interesting detail of Friday night's arrangements linked up the occasion with the events at the Curragh, which caused so much excitement five weeks ago. The password chosen was 'Gough!'" —"*Daily Mail*," April 28, 1914.

## “TO ARMS”

“At the present moment the weapons are under the control of the leaders, in many different places, and they are carefully guarded. . . . The moment a raid for arms is made, there will be an order for a general assembly of the whole force.”—“*Daily Telegraph*,” April 27, 1914.

## “I TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY”

“I can assure you, whether you believe me or not, that I am as anxious as any man living to find a way out of this Ulster difficulty which will avoid bloodshed. I may be told: ‘Look at what you were engaged in last Friday.’ I take full responsibility for that.”—*Sir Edward Carson in the House of Commons, April 29, 1914.*

## HIRED ASSASSINS

“It was quite enough for those who desired to support the Ulstermen, and at the same time to protect the Union, to know that the net result of the whole affair had been that the British officers and men were not on that occasion available, or ever would be available, to act as the hired assassins of the Radical caucus.”—*Lord Willoughby de Broke at Stratford-on-Avon, May 4, 1914.*

## “NEVER”

“If the Unionists were to join with the Radicals, and were to come forward and proclaim that Ulster must have a Home Rule Bill, we would say ‘Never.’” —*Sir Edward Carson at Queen’s Hall, May 9, 1914.*

## NO PALTERING

“All I can say is—carry on the fight to the very finish; be prepared for everything, as we are prepared—even for the very worst. I say to you, on behalf of these Ulstermen, that they are sick and tired of being threatened for the last thirty years. They were put there to maintain their connection with you. They have done it honourably, and will do it even at the cannon’s mouth. Let us have no paltering with this subject. We are going now to finish it once and for all. If we go down, well, let us go down.”—*Sir Edward Carson at St. James’s Theatre, May 21, 1914.*

## THE NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS

“I am not sorry for the armed drilling of those who are opposed to me in Ireland. I certainly have no right to complain of it; I started that with my own friends. (Cheers.) I was told at the time that I was looking for revolution two and a-half or three years ahead. I was very glad. I did not mind that. We are quite ready, and we mean to go on and be more ready.”—*Sir Edward Carson at the Ladies’ Grand Council of the Primrose League, St. James’ Theatre, London, May 22, 1914.*

## MORE MAUSERS

“Despite all their fleet and their other preparations, I am going to have more Mausers.”—*Sir Edward Carson, “London Times” report, June 2, 1914.*

## “KEEP YOUR ARMS”

“Remember your arms, and keep them no matter what happens. I rely on every man to fight for his

arms, and to let no man take them from him—I don't care who they are or what authority they have got. I tell you to keep your arms with a view to keeping the peace. We are not the peace breakers. It is the people who would come to take away what we have got who are the peace breakers, and I tell you if they come to break the peace I will rely upon your discipline under your officers, if the necessity arises, to use your arms.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, June 6, 1914.*

## INTIMIDATING THE KING !!!

“He wondered how the Government, with any sense of decency, could present the Home Rule Bill to the King for his signature. They were his Majesty's constitutional advisers, and were bound by every obligation of honour and duty to tell his Majesty the truth. . . . The King would be entitled to be assured before taking the most momentous step that any British sovereign had been called on to undertake for generations—that the Government had the people behind them, and without a general election his Majesty's advisers could give no such assurance.”—*Lord Milner at Leeds, June 13, 1914.*

## “THE LAST RESORT”

“The constitutional methods of resistance were exhausted when the House of Lords had voted against the Bill. Nothing was then left but the unconstitutional resistance of men who in the last resort were prepared to take up arms against the Bill!”—*Mr. F. E. Smith K.C., M.P., at the Hotel Cecil, June 15, 1914.*

## SIR EDWARD'S DAY

“For my own part, the day I shall like best in the

whole controversy is the day on which I am compelled, if I am compelled, to tell my men, 'You must mobilize and you must defend yourselves.'"—*Sir Edward Carson at Bolton, June 20, 1914.*

## THE ULSTER REPUBLIC

July 10, 1914, the Ulster Provisional Government met at Belfast behind closed doors, protected by an armed guard of Ulster Volunteers.

### "I WILL GO ON TO THE VERY END"

"I can only promise you from my heart and from my conscience that, to the best of my ability, I, at all events, will go on with you to the very end. We will win or we will go down together."—*Sir Edward Carson at Larne, July 10, 1914.*

## HOWTH AND BACHELOR'S WALK

July 26, 1914. Arms landed for the National Volunteers at Howth. Police and soldiers attempt to disarm the National Volunteers. The soldiers fire on the people at Bachelor's Walk, killing three and wounding thirty-two.

## WHAT THE GERMANS BELIEVED.

"The raising of the Ulster army by Sir Edward Carson, one of the most gigantic political bluffs in all history, which had no more revolutionary or political significance than a torchlight parade during one of our Presidential campaigns, was reported by the German spies as a real and serious revolutionary movement, and, of course, *it was believed by the*

Germans that Ireland would rise in rebellion the moment that war was declared.”—“*My Four Years in Germany*,” by James W. Gerard, American Ambassador.

## WHAT THE AUSTRIANS BELIEVED

Dr. E. J. Dillon, one of the best informed journalists in Europe, telegraphing from Vienna on July 26, 1914, gave five reasons why Austria expected a free hand in dealing with Serbia. The third in order of importance was as follows:—“It was a moment when the cares of the British Government were absorbed in forecasting and preparing for the fateful consequences of its internal policy in regard to Irish Home Rule, which may, it is apprehended, culminate in civil war.”

## “PARALYSED BY IRISH QUARRELS”

“For the rest, England, which during the last two years Germany has been trying, not without success, to detach from France and Russia, is paralysed by internal dissensions and her Irish quarrels.”—*Despatch from Baron Beyens, Belgian Minister at Berlin, dated July 26, 1914, reviewing the situation as it appeared to the German officials.*

## RECONSTRUCTION

“What I propose to do is in the future—may God grant it may be the near future—when the war is over I propose to summon the Provisional Government together. And I propose if necessary, so far as Ulster is concerned, that their first act shall be to repeal the Home Rule Bill as regards Ulster. And I propose in the same act to enact that it is the duty of the Volunteers to see that no act, or no attempt at an act,

under that Bill should ever have effect in Ulster. . . . We have plenty of guns, and we are going to keep them. We are afraid of nothing.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, September 28, 1914.*

## LET THEM DARE !

“ Let them treat the Home Rule Bill—he supposed he should call it the Home Rule Act—as a nullity, and go ahead as if it never existed, and let those who dared come and try to force it upon them.”—*Sir Edward Carson at Ballymena, October 1, 1914.*

## ULSTER PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Ulster Provisional Government was declared established at Belfast on September 24, 1913.

SIR EDWARD CARSON was Chairman and Leader of Central Authority, and SIR JAMES CAMPBELL was Legal Assessor; and CHARLES BATES, K.C. F. BRUNSKILL, K.C.; JAMES CHAMBERS, K.C., M.P.; G. FETHERSTON, K.C., M.P.; JOHN GORDON, K.C., M.P.; WILLIAM MOORE, K.C., M.P.; and D. M. WILSON, K.C.

SIR JOHN LONSDALE, M.P., was amongst the other prominent members.

Of these Provisional Governors, three—Campbell, Gordon and Moore—were afterwards made Judges of the High Court, and Campbell Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Sir Edward Carson, entering the Cabinet, was made Attorney-General, and afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty. James Chambers was made Solicitor-General for Ireland, and Sir John Lonsdale was made a peer.

## IRISH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Irish Provisional Government was declared established in Dublin on April 24, 1916.

THOMAS J. CLARKE was President, and JAMES CONNOLLY was Commandant of the Dublin District.

THOMAS McDONAGH, P. H. PEARSE, SEAN MacDERMOTT, EDMUND KENT and JOSEPH PLUNKETT were amongst other prominent members.

All the Provisional Governors were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. They were shot at Richmond Barracks, Dublin, between the 3rd and 13th of May, 1916. Sir James Campbell, K.C., M.P., Legal Assessor, had then become Attorney-General.

# INDEX

|                                                         | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------|
| ALINGTON, LORD.                                         |      |
| —On spilling blood of Cabinet Ministers ... ..          | 25   |
| ANDERSON, REV. S. R.                                    |      |
| —Incites to armed resistance ... ..                     | 7    |
| ANDREWS, RT. HON. THOMAS.                               |      |
| —Prefers German to Irish Government ... ..              | 2    |
| ARMY.                                                   |      |
| —Carson's hint to ... ..                                | 8    |
| —Mutiny in promised ... ..                              | 21   |
| —Incitement to Territorials to withdraw from ... ..     | 28   |
| —To be broken up ... ..                                 | 29   |
| —Must not be used in Ulster ... ..                      | 30   |
| —Letter from General Paget ... ..                       | 31   |
| —Reports of resignations in ... ..                      | 31   |
| —General Gough prefers dismissal from, if ordered North | 31   |
| —Guarantees for General Gough ... ..                    | 31   |
| —Bonar Law on conditional discipline in ... ..          | 32   |
| —Kills Home Rule ... ..                                 | 32   |
| —Walter Long on impossibility of using ... ..           | 32   |
| —Lord Robert Cecil on ... ..                            | 32   |
| —"Gough" password of Larne gun runners ... ..           | 34   |
| —British officers not to be assassins ... ..            | 35   |
| ASQUITH, RT. HON., M.P.                                 |      |
| —Points the moral of incitements ... ..                 | 11   |
| —The gospel of anarchy ... ..                           | 17   |
| —Open letter to ... ..                                  | 23   |
| —Assassination of advocated ... ..                      | 29   |
| BERESFORD, LORD CHAS., M.P.                             |      |
| —First to be shot ... ..                                | 22   |
| BONAR LAW, M.P.                                         |      |
| —Heaven help the Government ... ..                      | 6    |
| —Lynch the Government ... ..                            | 9    |
| —Must use most effective means ... ..                   | 11   |
| —Assents to doctrine of force ... ..                    | 11   |
| —If Ulster resists will help ... ..                     | 19   |
| —Ulster and a foreign Government ... ..                 | 20   |
| —Support Ulster to the end ... ..                       | 27   |
| —Conditional discipline in Army ... ..                  | 32   |
| CAMPBELL, LORD CHANCELLOR.                              |      |
| —Duty of men of honour and courage ... ..               | 5    |
| —The brink of a volcano ... ..                          | 23   |
| —Civil war the path of duty ... ..                      | 30   |
| CARSON, SIR E., M.P.                                    |      |
| —Spitting dirt at £5,000 a year                         |      |
| —Mistakes L. George for a gentleman ... ..              | 1    |
| —Scabs in the Lords ... ..                              | 1    |
| —Threatened march on Cork ... ..                        | 4    |
| —Incitement to riot ... ..                              | 4    |
| —Threatens force ... ..                                 | 6    |
| —How to meet revolution ... ..                          | 6    |
| —Army can't stand strain ... ..                         | 8    |
| —Prepared for war ... ..                                | 8    |
| —To break every law ... ..                              | 10   |

# INDEX

Page

## CARSON, SIR E.—*Con.*

|                                                         |       |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| —On treason ... ..                                      | 10-13 |
| —Royal honours to ... ..                                | 12    |
| —Threatens Covenanters ... ..                           | 13    |
| —Road to anarchy ... ..                                 | 16    |
| —On legislation against Protestants ... ..              | 18    |
| —On active help of Unionists ... ..                     | 19    |
| —What Ulster is drilling for ... ..                     | 20    |
| —Support of Unionist Party for resistance ... ..        | 22    |
| —On Privy Councillors' oath ... ..                      | 23    |
| —Ulster will refuse to pay taxes ... ..                 | 24    |
| —On the Great Day ... ..                                | 24    |
| —Lunches with Kaiser ... ..                             | 25    |
| —Pledges from Army Generals ... ..                      | 26    |
| —A conquered community ... ..                           | 26    |
| —Description of Belfast streets running in blood ... .. | 33    |
| —Takes full responsibility for Larne gun running ... .. | 35    |
| —Ulster will never have Home Rule ... ..                | 35    |
| —Approves of National Volunteers ... ..                 | 36    |
| —More Mausers in spite of Fleet ... ..                  | 36    |
| —Keep your arms ... ..                                  | 36    |
| —On mobilisation ... ..                                 | 38    |
| —Going on to the very end ... ..                        | 38    |
| —After-the-war policy ... ..                            | 39    |
| —Home Rule Act to be treated as a nullity ... ..        | 40    |

## CECIL, LORD ROBERT, M.P.

|                                               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------|----|
| —Rebellion better than Home Rule ... ..       | 6  |
| —Army not to be used by the Government ... .. | 32 |

## CHAMBERS, JAS., M.P.

|                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------|----|
| —Will laugh at England's calamity ... .. | 21 |
| —Audience favours Germany ... ..         | 21 |

## COVENANT.

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| —Text of ... .. | 14 |
|-----------------|----|

## CRAIG, C. C., M.P.

|                                         |   |
|-----------------------------------------|---|
| —Prefers separation to Home Rule ... .. | 2 |
|-----------------------------------------|---|

## CRAIG, CAPT., M.P.

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| —Prefers Germany ... .. | 2 |
|-------------------------|---|

## CRAWFORD, MAJOR F.

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| —Prefers to change to Kaiser ... .. | 7 |
|-------------------------------------|---|

## DE BROKE, LORD WILLOUGHBY, M.P.

|                                           |    |
|-------------------------------------------|----|
| —Active support for Ulster ... ..         | 13 |
| —Organising an army ... ..                | 29 |
| —Army must not be used in Ulster ... ..   | 30 |
| —British officers not be assassins ... .. | 35 |

## DERRY AND RAPHOE, PROTESTANT BISHOP OF.

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| —Addresses Ulster Convention ... .. | 16 |
| —On Christian temper ... ..         | 16 |

## DOWN AND CONNOR, PROTESTANT BISHOP OF.

|                                         |    |
|-----------------------------------------|----|
| —Preaches in defence of Covenant ... .. | 15 |
|-----------------------------------------|----|

## DUKE, H. E., M.P.

|                                         |    |
|-----------------------------------------|----|
| —Moral right of Ulster to resist ... .. | 19 |
| —Killing Ulster rebels—murder ... ..    | 19 |

## HAMILTON, LORD CLAUD, M.P.

|                                           |   |
|-------------------------------------------|---|
| —Offers to raise army in Liverpool ... .. | 7 |
|-------------------------------------------|---|

# INDEX

|                                                         | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------|
| HICKMAN, COL. T. E., M.P.                               |      |
| —Going to be in fight ... ..                            | 18   |
| —Bought the Ulster rifles ... ..                        | 28   |
| HOBSON, REV. CHANCELLOR, PORTADOWN.                     |      |
| —Smash the Empire ... ..                                | 20   |
| HORNER, A., M.P.                                        |      |
| —Threat to murder Churchill ... ..                      | 5    |
| JOYNSON HICKS, M.P.                                     |      |
| —Fire and be-damned ... ..                              | 29   |
| THE KAISER.                                             |      |
| —Carson lunches with ... ..                             | 25   |
| —Promises to annex Ireland ... ..                       | 27   |
| —To be welcomed by Irish Protestants ... ..             | 27   |
| LARNE GUN RUNNING.                                      |      |
| —German rifles land at Larne ... ..                     | 34   |
| —Police held up ... ..                                  | 34   |
| —"Gough" the password at ... ..                         | 34   |
| —Sir Edward Carson takes full responsibility for ... .. | 35   |
| LONDONDERRY, LORD.                                      |      |
| —Threatens bloodshed and disorder ... ..                | 2    |
| LONG, WALTER, M.P.                                      |      |
| —Resistance and civil war ... ..                        | 2    |
| —Impossibility of using army ... ..                     | 32   |
| LYTTLETON, ALFRED, M.P.                                 |      |
| —Prophecies mutiny in army ... ..                       | 21   |
| McKEAN, REV. DR., EX-MODERATOR.                         |      |
| —On use of pulpit for politics ... ..                   | 15   |
| MILNER, LORD.                                           |      |
| —Lectures the King ... ..                               | 37   |
| PRETYMAN NEWMAN, M.P.                                   |      |
| —Advocates assassination of Asquith ... ..              | 29   |
| PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.                                 |      |
| —Conference proposes formation of ... ..                | 3-4  |
| —Establishment of ... ..                                | 27   |
| —Meets under protection of armed guard ... ..           | 38   |
| SMITH, F. E., M.P.                                      |      |
| —Protestant Watchwords ... ..                           | 1    |
| —Justifies Ulster resistance ... ..                     | 5    |
| —Pledges Unionist Party to resist ... ..                | 7    |
| —Prepared to share in rebellion ... ..                  | 9    |
| —Appeal to young men of England ... ..                  | 11   |
| —Invokes the Almighty ... ..                            | 13   |
| —Lynching on lamp posts ... ..                          | 14   |
| —Ulster will not stand alone ... ..                     | 17   |
| —Will recognise no law ... ..                           | 26   |
| —Resistance by arms ... ..                              | 37   |
| "THE TIMES."                                            |      |
| —Advocates minority rule in Ireland ... ..              | 18   |
| —Ulster's alliance with the Deity ... ..                | 20   |
| WALLACE, COL.                                           |      |
| —On drilling ... ..                                     | 8    |
| WALMSLEY, REV. MR.                                      |      |
| —Conditional loyalty ... ..                             | 12   |



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